

Federal Parliament as Britain's Bulwark in Political Turmoil



LORD MILNER.

Lloyd George's Startling Project for Coping With the Many Intricate Problems That Menace the Empire Looms as Issue of the Fall Elections

By F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

AFTER having saved the civilized world at the cost of millions of lives and of billions of treasure from the peril of Germany's military terrorism and economic despotism, the United States, Great Britain and France are now called upon to defend themselves, and indeed every nation of the universe, from the danger of an even still more blighting tyranny, that of labor, seeking to dominate our whole political and economic existence and culminating in Bolshevism.

Here in America labor demands the nationalization, not alone of all public services and utilities but also of all the basic industries, with a predominant voice in the control and management thereof, under a threat by the American Federation of Labor "to tie up the railroads so tight that they would never run again," at the end of the present month. In Great Britain the delay of the Government in yielding to equally extravagant pretensions has already resulted in a series of mining, shipping, railroad, police and even bakers' strikes, which are paralyzing the entire existence of the people of the United Kingdom.

If nationalization of public utilities and of the basic industries were all that is aimed at by labor we might be disposed to regard the issues with a certain amount of misgiving, but without excessive alarm, as questions mainly of an economic character.

Embodied, however, by the strength of the weapons which they hold in their hands—namely, the power to stop coal mining, railroad transportation and shipping trade and in consequence thereof all basic industries, by means of strikes—the labor leaders here, as well as in Great Britain and France, have cast their eyes to the winds, and have proclaimed their resolve to determine henceforth the activities of their respective Governments in domestic and foreign politics.

They declare that they will not permit any further military action in Russia against the Bolsheviks, with whom they profess to be in hearty sympathy and understanding. They object to conscription of any kind, military, naval or industrial. They will not tolerate the use of soldiers, sailors or police for the purposes of strike breaking, repression or control. They exact the unionizing of the police, of the army and of the navy, so as to have these guardians of the nation against foreign enemies or against internal disturbances under their own direction and command. They are determined that the conditions of peace imposed upon the Germans and the Austrians by the treaties of Versailles shall be subjected to the most extensive modification, on the ground that the conditions contained therein are unduly extortionate and exaggerated, and as such calculated to interfere with the working of the international brotherhood of labor, in which they profess to see the only assurance of a lasting peace.

Where is the Sovereign Power? Great Britain and the United States, as well as France, are therefore confronted by a series of altogether revolutionary issues which may be, all of them, summed up into a single question, namely: Is the sovereign power of the nation to remain vested in the people, and in their chosen representatives, as provided for by the terms of their constitution; or is it to be surrendered to certain classes of labor, constituting a mere fraction of the nation, and which are in a position to terrorize the Government, because of their ability to order strikes, paralyzing the economic life of the nation?

Before proceeding to indicate the methods by which the British and the United States Governments propose to deal with this crisis, it may not be clear that the problem would be clearer if there were any assurance that the labor leaders now leading the fight for nationalization of the public utilities and basic industries, in America and in Great Britain, are entitled to speak for the whole

of labor instead of for merely a class thereof. In both countries the labor leaders endeavoring to terrorize the nation and the Government belong to the mining, railroad and shipping trade classes, or at any rate represent them, and are convinced that they can attain the aims which they have in view by means of strikes.

But there is no evidence to show that their bullying policies and their aggressive attitude have the approval of the thousands of other classes of labor, or that these are willing to endorse them as their representatives. Indeed, the evidence points all the other way, and leads to the belief that the vast masses of the laboring population in the United States and in Great Britain are perfectly satisfied with the existing Government—at any rate satisfied that the Government is doing the best in its power for their welfare and for their interests.

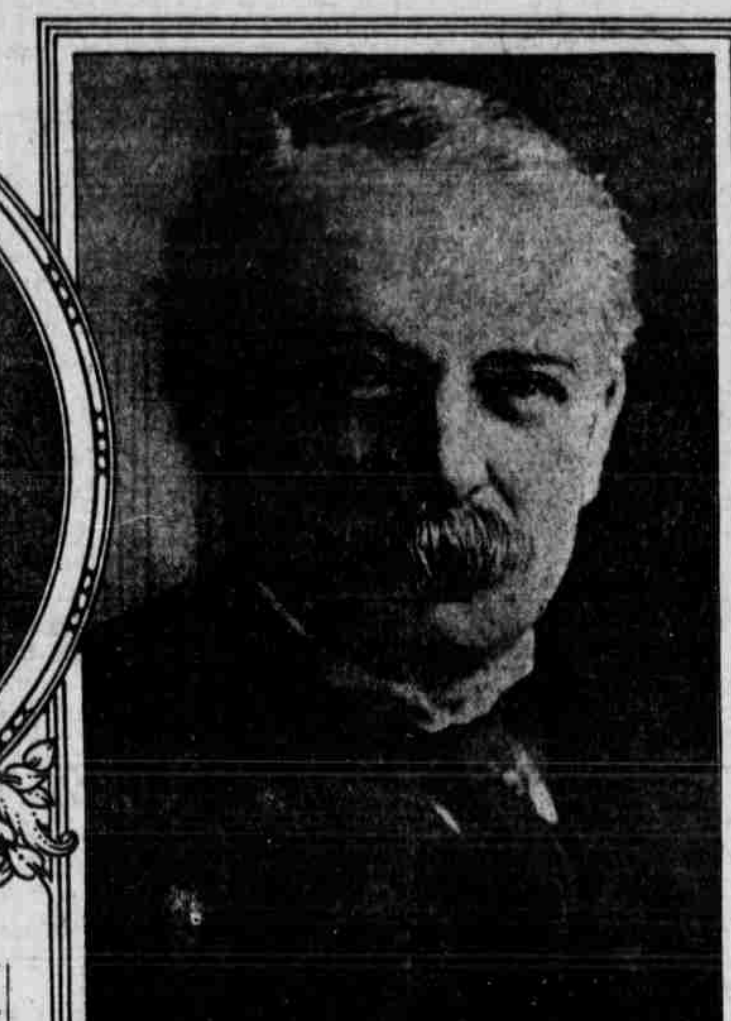
Broadly speaking, labor—I include both sexes—forms 90 per cent. of the Parliamentary constituencies in Great Britain and of the Congressional constituencies of the United States. On the occasion of the last general election in the United Kingdom, just before Christmas, at which a larger vote was polled than ever before in the history of the nation, labor returned but seventy-four representatives to a House of Commons numbering 707 members—that is to say, barely 10 per cent. And of these seventy-four, only a few were Socialists and Moderates, who are entirely averse to the schemes of their extremist brethren for the terrorization of the Government, in purely political matters, by means of strikes.

In fact these moderates in the House of Commons are virtually at one with the extremists of their party. Here in the United States one may look in vain throughout the entire roster of Congress at Washington for any representative of labor, elected as such in November last, when the House recruited its mandate. That is, I believe, a couple of Socialists and some Prohibitionists, but no representative of labor. Does this not show that labor at large in America is content to leave the care of its interests in the hands of the popular Government and in those of the two houses of Congress, recruited from the Democratic and from the Republican parties?

Bonar Law's Plan for Time. When, the other day, the British Government was called upon in the House of Commons for an immediate pronouncement on the subject of these species of class labor ultimatums, Andrew Bonar Law, leader of the Government, and speaking in its name, called attention to the fact that its principal members had only just returned from six months hard work in Paris in connection with the negotiation of what is hoped to be a lasting peace after the great war, and needed time to get their bearings again on the subject of domestic issues and for reflection and discussion about the matter. This was a perfectly sensible plea, which appealed to most of those present.

For the close of the war has found every country in a state very much akin to what may be described as flux. The conflict is over. But it has left a dire legacy of sorrow, debt, disillusion, discontent and disorganization in its train. It is not only the villages, the towns and the cities, so barbarously destroyed by the enemy, that have to be rebuilt, in France, in Belgium, in Serbia and in Rumania, but also the entire administrative, political and economic systems of the victorious as well as of the vanquished nations.

President Wilson, Lloyd George and Georges Clemenceau find themselves to-day all pretty much in the same boat. They cannot rely upon the loyal support of the legislatures of their respective countries. But they enjoy the confidence, the good will and the backing of the people. President Wilson has against him a hostile majority in both houses of Congress; but enjoys a degree of personal prestige. Clemenceau's hold upon the affection and gratitude of his fellow countrymen is so great at present that if he offers himself for election as President of the republic in February he will win hands down, although the present Chamber of Deputies, elected before



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In England the situation of Prime Minister Lloyd George is even more complicated. The war, which necessitated an alliance between the Unionists and the Liberals, having come to an end, there is no longer any cause for the maintenance of the Coalition, which is in the process of disruption. The Unionists continue subject to the direction of their own leaders, headed by Bonar Law. The rank and file of the Liberal party still accord their allegiance to its acknowledged chief, ex-Premier Herbert Asquith, who does not even possess a seat in the present Parliament. Lloyd George, the magnetic, resourceful and indefatigable statesman who brought the war to a successful conclusion, and who is more, succeeded in retaining the fruits of victory by dint of clever negotiation at the congress of Paris, is virtually to-day without a party in Parliament, but is looked upon by the entire nation as the man of the moment, the only one capable of dealing with the various intricate problems

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Premier Lloyd George is showing equal if not even greater resourcefulness. Realizing the extent to which he would be handicapped in attempting to deal with the labor problems confronting him under present conditions—that is to say, without any Parliamentary majority upon the loyalty of which he can absolutely rely—he has resolved upon the gathering in London before the end of the year of a constituent convention for the purpose of federalizing the entire British Empire on lines similar to those existing in the United States and in Canada, a sort of blend of the two methods.

The object of the constituent congress, in which all the self-governing colonies are to be represented, is to bring about the creation of a federal one-chamber Imperial Parliament in London of about 120 members, and in which not only the overseas dependencies of the British Crown but also Scotland, England, Wales, Ulster and Nationalist Ireland would each be represented as federal, self-governing States of the Union. Depending from this Imperial and federal one-chamber Parliament there would be a Federal Cabinet which would have control of all matters of imperial policy, as regards the foreign relations of the empire, would deal with the internal dimensions among its various component autonomous States, and which would, above all, come to an understanding about an imperial economic policy.

Powers of Proposed Assembly. In this Federal Parliament would be vested the right of concluding all treaties with foreign Powers, the sole power of determining questions of peace and war, the control of all the military and naval forces of the empire, and the imposition of imperial taxes, by means of which the cost of the naval and military defenses of the empire would be more equitably distributed. Until now Great Britain has been compelled to bear the brunt of these expenses.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which already fulfills the duties of a tribunal of supreme and final appeal from all over the dependencies to the sovereign, who is technically the Fountain of Justice, will be reconstituted into a Supreme Court of the Empire, and will have jurisdiction in the Imperial Parliament will be determined by a majority vote, the Crown, of course, retaining, as heretofore, the prerogative of withholding its signature, which is equivalent to the power of veto of President Wilson.

Lloyd George believes that by means of this startling scheme, first dreamed of but never realized by that father of British Imperialism, the late "Fighting Joe" Chamberlain, that he will be able to fulfill the legitimate aspiration of the great overseas dependencies, for a larger share in the determination of the policies and destiny of the empire. The Federal Parliament will satisfy the rapidly developing Nationalist ambitions of Scotland, and of Wales, and above all, the Federal Parliament offers the only sane and acceptable solution of that nightmare of the British Empire politics, the Irish question. Moreover, it would avoid the present obstruction of what may be described as Imperial business, through the time of both existing houses of Parliament being wasted in the discussion of petty issues, of a purely British or I might even say, parochial character.

An Imperial Parliament thus constituted, would prove a bulwark of defense, not only of the United Kingdom, but of the entire Confederation of the British Empire, against the revolutionary terrorism of class labor, such as that which is now seeking to bulldoze the Lloyd George administration in London. It would deal with the question of federalizing public services and basic industries the consideration of which could be postponed until the Imperial federation cleverly embodied certain planks of the class labor platform, such as for instance the demand for local autonomy and home rule. The labor platform also insists upon the participation of the various component parts of the empire in the government of the latter.

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How Borneo Dyaks Catch Crocodiles

IT is no uncommon sight in Borneo to see a large crocodile sunning himself on the muddy bank of a river. He takes no notice of the natives, even though they pass quite near him. So common, indeed, is the sight that the Dyaks themselves pay no heed to these dangerous reptiles; and yet it is no unusual thing in Borneo to hear of some human life being taken by a crocodile. For months, perhaps, the crocodiles in a river live at peace with mankind. Then suddenly one of these creatures will carry off some lad bathing in the river or even attack some one paddling along in his boat.

There seems to be no reason why the crocodile should suddenly show a man eating propensity in this way. The Dyaks account for it by a curious superstition. They say that if food is offered to a person and he refuses it and goes away without at least touching it some misfortune is sure to befall him, and he will most probably be attacked by a crocodile. Also it is said that one of the ways the gods punish crime is by sending a crocodile to attack the culprit.

The Dyaks of Borneo will not kill a crocodile except in revenge. If the reptile will live at peace with him the Dyak has no wish to start a quarrel. If, however, the crocodile breaks the truce and kills some one, then the Dyak feels justified in retaliating. Under these circumstances the Dyaks seek to work to find the culprit and go on catching and killing crocodiles until they succeed in doing so. The Dyaks generally wear brass ornaments, and by cutting open a crocodile they can easily ascertain whether he is the creature they wish to punish. Sometimes as many as ten crocodiles are killed before they find the one they want to be revenged on. Having succeeded in doing this they once more live at peace with these reptiles until such time as the truce is broken again by some crocodile killing a human being.

There are men whose business it is to catch crocodiles and who earn their living by that means. And whenever a human being has fallen a victim to a crocodile they are asked to help to destroy the murderer, and a large reward offered him. The majority of natives will not interfere with the reptiles, or take any part in their capture, probably fearing if they do anything of the kind they themselves may some time or other suffer for it by being attacked by a crocodile.

The usual way of catching crocodiles in Borneo is with a wooden bar and a black cable. A piece of hardwood about an inch in diameter and about ten inches long is sharpened to a point at each end. A length of plaited

cord of the bar, tree, about eight feet long, is tied to a shallow notch in the middle of this piece of wood, and a single cane or rattan, forty or fifty feet long, is tied to the end of the bar and forms a long line. The most irresistible bait is the carcass of a monkey, though often the body of a dog or snake is used. This bait is securely lashed to the wooden bar, and one of the pointed ends is tied back with a few turns of cotton to the bark rope, bringing the bar and rope into the same straight line. The more overpowering the odor of the bait the greater is the probability of its being taken, for the crocodile has a preference for decaying flesh. When a crocodile has fresh meat he carries it away and hides it in some safe place until it decomposes.

The next step is to suspend the bait from the bough of a tree overhanging the part of the river known to be the haunt of the crocodiles. The bait is hung a few feet above the high water level, and the long rattan line is left lying on the ground, the end of it being planted in the soil. Several similar lines are set in different parts of the river, and there left for several days until one of the baits is taken by a crocodile.

Attracted either by the sight or the

smell of the bait, some crocodile raises himself from the water and snags at the overhanging bundle, the slack line offering no resistance until the bait has been swallowed and the reptile begins to make off. Then the planted end of the cane line holds sufficiently to snap the slight thread binding the pointed stick to the bark rope. The stick thus returns to its original position at right angles to the line and becomes jammed across the crocodile's stomach, the two sharpened points fixing themselves into the flesh. The crocodile swings away, dragging after him the long line attached to the bait which he has swallowed. Sometimes the cotton holding the bar to the line falls to snap. In that case the crocodile becomes suspicious of the long line attached to what he has swallowed and climbing up the river bank disgorges the bait and unopened "hook" in the jungle, where it is sometimes found. But should the cotton snap and the bar fix itself in the reptile's stomach nothing can save the creature.

The formidable teeth of the crocodile are not able to bite through the rope attached to the bait, because the bark fibre of which it is loosely made gets between his teeth and the rope holds, no matter how much the fibres get separated.

The trappers each morning visit the

being large enough to maintain large armies for several months.

According to figures of the Department of Agriculture dust explosions caused the destruction of four of the largest grain and cereal plants in the United States between March, 1918, and October, 1917. These disasters caused the deaths of twenty-four persons, injuries to thirty-eight, and damage to the extent of \$6,000,000. Among these was an explosion and elevator fire in which was destroyed grain sufficient to supply bread rations to 300,000 soldiers for a year.

The work of the staffs of the divisions will include demonstrations of the explosive quality of what appears to be harmless dust, with practical illustrations of preventive measures. Some of the "safety first" rules advocated by the experts of the bureau of chemistry are:

Construct the plant of fireproof materials. Keep the plant clean and as free as possible from accumulations of dust. Install an efficient dust collection system. Prevent the use and production of flames and sparks of any kind. Prohibit smoking and the carrying of matches. Install some improved system of protection against fire.

The Grain Corporation in its fire prevention work will also instruct the employees of mills and elevators in the necessity for proper precaution.

different traps to see whether any of the baits have been taken and if so are missing they search for them. They seldom fail to find the rattan or cane floating on the surface of some deep pool at no great distance from the spot where the bait was taken. A firm but gentle pull soon brings the crocodile to the surface, and if he is a big one he is brought to the shore, although smaller specimens are put directly into the boat and made fast there.

Professional crocodile catchers are supposed to possess some wonderful and mysterious power over the reptile which enables them to land it and handle it without trouble. A man has been seen to land a large crocodile on the bank simply by pulling gently at the line; but this is not surprising, as from the crocodile's point of view there is nothing else to do but to follow, when every pull, however gentle, causes pain.

The rest of the proceeding is more remarkable. The animal is addressed in eulogistic language, and "beguiled," so the natives say, into offering no resistance. He is called a "raja among animals," and is told that he has come on a friendly visit, and must behave accordingly. First the trapper ties up his jaw—not a very difficult thing to do. The next step appears to the stranger to be very risky. Still speaking as before in high flown language, he tells the crocodile that he has brought rings for his fingers, and he binds the hind legs fast behind the reptile's back, so taking from him his grip on the ground and consequently his ability to use his tail. When one remembers what a sudden swing of the muscular tail means one cannot help admiring the courage of the man who coolly approaches a large crocodile for the purpose of tying up his hind legs. Finally the fore legs are tied in the same manner over the reptile's back. A stout pole is passed under the bound legs and the crocodile is carried away. He is taken to the nearest Government station, and the reward given according to the length of the reptile killed and the number of the explosive quality of what appears to be harmless dust, with practical illustrations of preventive measures.

Some of the "safety first" rules advocated by the experts of the bureau of chemistry are:

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While Lacking Parliamentary Support, Premier Holds Confidence of Fellow Countrymen as Only Statesman Capable of Protecting Them From Labor Terrorism and Bolshevism

issues of the Presidential campaign next year.

Premier Lloyd George is showing equal if not even greater resourcefulness. Realizing the extent to which he would be handicapped in attempting to deal with the labor